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ANNUAL ADDRESS

BEFORE

The Woman's National Christian Temperance Union

*At its Seventh Annual Meeting in Clarendon Street
Baptist Church, Boston, October 27, 1880.*

BY

FRANCES E. WILLARD,

President.

I. PROGRESS.

BELOVED SISTERS AND CO-WORKERS : This has been the most encouraging year the world has ever seen in the history of temperance reform. Even in Germany it was proposed at the last session of the Reichstag to tax the beer-trade because of its harmful effects on the health and morals of the people. In England, Gladstone's Ministry secured the malt-tax, and the House of Commons passed Sir Wilfrid Lawson's Local Option Resolution. The Scott Act of Canada—which has no peer among prohibitory laws in its machinery for enforcement—triumphantly sustained the ordeal of an appeal to the Supreme Court to test its constitutionality, and has been adopted by the Province of Prince Edward Island with the favorable results which, among a people educated in temperance sentiment, have always followed such enactments. In Maine the law was greatly strengthened in its penalties by the last Legislature, and a thorough temperance man is elected governor. The Legislature of Iowa has placed a prohibitory constitutional amendment before the people, and Kansas will vote on the 2d of November, on a similar provision, which will undoubtedly prevail ; while, despite the utmost efforts of the rum-Democrats and beer-Republicans, Governor St. John, of Kansas, that stalwart defender of the faith, was overwhelmingly successful in securing a renomination.

In this year, too, the crusade State of Ohio sent the largest petition its annals show, asking the ballot for women on all temperance questions ; while, under a local ordinance prepared by a leading lawyer and circulated by the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Illinois, women have actually voted

in five municipalities on the question of license; and all of them—the high and low, illiterate and educated, Catholic and Protestant—voted “to close the dram-shop door over against their homes.”

But let us thank God most of all that in the supreme court of public opinion the greatest lawsuit of the century is set for trial. Long quibbled over and frequently postponed, it has at last come squarely to the front; it heads the docket, and the clear-cut issue is stated in these words:

The Women of the Nation versus The Liquor-Traffic.

II. PLANS.

We may not linger on the mighty evidences of growth in public sentiment which the last year has witnessed, which I have chosen from the realm of legislation only, because you have no time for particulars, and the statute-book always gives us the generalized results of philanthropic work. “Forward toward greater things” is the eager motto of our faith, and, coming to you from the wide battle-field, I have tried to gather out of the wisdom of many captains of our host, and earnest soldiers of the rank and file, plans for the next campaign.

I. EDUCATIONAL WORK.

Juvenile.

Nature’s way of bringing beauty and order out of chaos is to flood darkness with light. We shall never get beyond this method by any spasmodic pyrotechnics, which, no matter how popular for the time, only serve to make the darkness more visible when their artificial coruscations are withdrawn. The work among the children yields a much larger dividend on our investment of time and toil than is afforded by our work among the drinking class. We may as well face that fact and learn its lesson thoroughly. When I see our schoolboys stunting their growth and drying up their brains with smoke; when I discover that their very cigars are soaked in alcoholic liquors, and they are baited with beer and enticed into saloons by music and by games; when I am told of their degeneracy in scholarship, so that the percentage of girls who graduate and who take honors is steadily gaining on that of boys, it seems to me that towards the children we have been strangely, if not culpably, negligent as temperance workers. It is a glorious thing, as has been said, to go out with the Gospel life-boat and strive to save wrecked manhood; but it is just as much in accordance with Christ’s plan, and for us a far wiser economy of effort, to build a lighthouse on the sunken reef, warning the unskilled voyager upon life’s treacherous sea. Oh! that the coming year may be signalized by the grandest work of lighthouse-building that has ever blessed bewildered boyhood in the thoughtless years of the first and second decades. But in our eagerness to teach the children by wholesale we must not forget that home is the truest nursery of temperance sentiment. The father understood this who came to one of our temperance talkers after the meeting and wanted to buy a copy of the “Temperance Catechism,” to which she had referred. “Then you will organize a Juvenile Union?” she asked, with an interest which grew stronger as he gravely answered: “Madam, my wife and I will start one at our own fireside.”

I have no more valued treasure than that attractive Boston “notion,” an

illuminated pledge, where, under my mother's dignified autograph and those of her brace of temperance daughters, appear the laboriously-traced names of the irrepressible young quartette who call me aunt. But because they are beginning right at home we are none the less desirous that their habit of enlightened thought should be strengthened by specific instruction in the Sabbath-school, the public school, and the cold-water army. We must lengthen our cords and strengthen our stakes until total abstinence shall be inculcated with all the majesty of science and the sweet persuasions of religion—those two blessed revelations of God's will concerning us. When brewers and distillers emblazon passages of Scripture in their convention halls, that system of Sabbath-school instruction is indeed deficient which fails to furnish the offset of systematic training in temperance exegesis. In the "Quarterly Sunday," which has been turned to such admirable account by many schools this year, we have, perhaps, prematurely rejoiced, for many publishers provide no lesson and others distinctly oppose the plan. We must be untiring in our efforts to enlist the leaders in Sunday-school work, or this open door of promise may be closed just as we were gratefully passing its portal.

But we shall always work in most left-handed fashion until we have a specialist in the field who can constantly attend Sunday-school conventions of county, State, and nation; visit authors and publishers; and develop this wonderfully promising branch of work. I therefore recommend that Miss Lucia Kimball be commissioned to undertake this task, for which she has already proved herself so eminently qualified. Nor can we hope to make much headway with school boards until the visitation of educational institutions and teachers' conventions of all grades, the incitement of women to the duty of using the school ballot in the States where it has been granted them and of asking for it in all the others, also the addressing of school boards and the general public shall be the special occupation of at least one well-equipped worker in each State. But we can at least make a beginning in that direction, and I earnestly hope you will assign to Mrs. M. H. Hunt, of Boston, who more than any other has developed this work, the position of General Superintendent of this department. Nor let us be content with the simple introduction of a text-book on the effects of alcohol,* but steadily employ our growing influence to have the subject treated from the point of view of total abstinence, in school-readers as well as text-books on physiology, chemistry, and political economy. Our local Unions would also do well to offer small prizes to the school-children for essays on the many-sided temperance question.

But as at present these vast agencies are hardly felt, I wish to emphasize anew the confidence of our leading workers in the Temperance School with the "Cold-water Army" or military feature for the boys. Miss Colman's book of the same name gives all needed information of the first, while "Hints and Helps" describes the last according to the best Western model. In every State we must soon have one woman as special instigator and inspirer of this juvenile work. Our enterprising Iowa sisters have ably pioneered the way in this regard, while New Jersey, with its State Temperance Teachers' Association, Normal Class, and Quarterly Meetings to discuss juvenile work, leads us all in its methods of training up workers for this department. Mrs. M. G. Baldwin, Newark, N. J., will send these plans to any who apply.

* Miss Colman's new book, entitled "Alcohol and Hygiene," is the latest and best of its kind for the public-school work.

Temperance Literature.

In the circulation of temperance literature this year has witnessed an unequalled growth. Over thirty-two millions of pages have gone out from the National Temperance Society and Publication House, and in large part to our local auxiliaries. It is becoming customary to circulate leaflets, adapted to the speaker's theme, in our public audiences and the homes of the people. Miss Julia Colman, 298 Eighth Street, Brooklyn, our chairman of the Temperance Literature Committee, has done more than any one else to instruct us as to methods, and to develop this line of work by furnishing excellent leaflets and handbills. Literature-boxes in legislative and municipal buildings, railroad-stations, engine-houses, markets, and barber-shops, and distribution through the post office, are also being introduced. New Jersey leads in this department, fifty towns doing systematic work, and the Newark Union alone having distributed one million pages this year.* A line of pictorial leaflets and handbills for children and youth, in which facts and principles are thrown into narrative form, would be of great service, the legal aspects of the question being thus inculcated as well as the medical and moral. The editing of a temperance column in the weekly press has been too much neglected the past year, our workers seeming to forget that the local newspaper goes into the blacksmith's shop and banker's counting-room alike, and even passes into the hands of brewers, distillers, and saloon-keepers, so that we have no other medium so cheap and universal in its application as this, which we seem so little to appreciate. Is this because women as yet read the newspapers but little themselves? Dear friends, suffer a word of exhortation here. As one has admirably phrased the thought: "We must all keep for ourselves a seat in the parliament of public opinion," but this we cannot do unless we know what the opinion of the public is, and it is the journals of the day that hold the mirror up to the eloquent and changeful countenance of "that splendid Everybody who knows so much more than anybody." No temperance woman can afford not to be a reader of the newspaper. In every large city ladies should be appointed to keep our work before the religious and magazine reading world. Church papers will gladly give place to well-written articles and news items. We must enlist the larger and less alert audience which, though it stays away from temperance meetings, can be made to hear with its eyes, can be moved upon although it does not move.

Loan Library—Topics for Local Unions.

In all our educational work for others are we not apt to forget how little we really know ourselves about the temperance question? Miss Colman is helping us in this by getting us to read the leaflets before giving them out. May I suggest that each local Union should invest a few dollars every year in a Loan Library, from which selections should be read at the monthly meetings and topics of discussion chosen; for we must make these meetings more educational, and if we do so the attendance will rapidly increase. The question-box may also be used to excellent advantage here, as in county and State conventions. Illinois asks you to furnish a programme for local meetings, with a list of topics for study and debate. I hope you may delegate

* Write Mrs Emma Bourne, 204 Market Street, Newark, N. J., for suggestions about this New Jersey work.

this important work to able hands, and venture to suggest that the study of parliamentary usage—the laws of which are but the etiquette of deliberative bodies—should be recommended as one of the topics to which our Unions may profitably give attention.

But the Loan Library can be made of important service outside the Union. Let Judge Pitman's, Canon Farrar's, and Drs. Richardson's and Edmunds's books be placed by personal visitation in the hands of influential men and women with a request for their opinion as to the positions taken by these thoughtful writers. Give out these lectures separately (in the paper-covered editions), so as to diminish the formidable character of your request. Follow this work up steadily for a year, in conjunction with frequent public meetings, and the mercury in public sentiment's thermometer will rise to levels you had hardly hoped to see.

Our Union

(the official organ of the National Society) should be enlarged, increased in price, opened to a full expression of the varied views of all our workers, and much more generally patronized. We have left the burden of its interests upon the shoulders of its editor and publisher to an ungenerous extent, doing this not of set purpose but through sheer thoughtlessness. I suggest that these officers be chosen hereafter by the annual meeting instead of the Publishing Committee, in the hope that we may more clearly perceive our responsibility and duty to sustain the enterprise in which they invest so much time and earnestness.

The Visitation of Influential Bodies

to secure their expressed adhesion to our work classifies naturally as yet, perhaps, among our educational methods. The General Conference of the M. E. and the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, to which your fraternal committee dutifully went last May, would doubtless deem this term significant in a quite different sense. That is indeed true, so far as educating your committee to a realizing sense that women are not received as fraternal delegates in ministerial assemblies! It need hardly be said, however, that we were treated with entire courtesy by both convocations, and the Presbyterians passed a strong resolution in favor of our work, while the Methodist brethren, by a large majority, invited us to speak; however, as some opposed, we deemed it an occasion on which silence was golden. Permit the recommendation that another time you do not send fraternal delegates, but appoint suitable women to hold a meeting conveniently near these ecclesiastical gatherings, and send them, by their own delegates, invitations to attend it; also consign such resolutions as you wish passed to a friend inside their court. In my judgment the corresponding secretary of each State should be held responsible to arrange for all State, and the corresponding secretary of the National for all national, meetings of ministers, physicians, teachers, and other bodies suitable for us to address in the present stage of the reform.

II. EVANGELISTIC WORK.

If ever faith and works went hand-in-hand, it was in the days of the Crusade. Some of our sisters, who hold their prayer-meeting and then go home, need to be reminded that straight from theirs the Praying Band of the

Crusade marched out into the highways and hedges of sin, and with loving compulsion invited wanderers to the Gospel feast. The best feature of this year's work is that we are measuring up more nearly to the Saviour's standard of *going about doing good*. Imagine that the hours between Sabbath-school and tea-time should be employed by all members of the church in going out, two by two, with earnest invitations into the homes of the non-church-going class, and into the saloons and other haunts of sin—would there be a vacant seat in the Lord's house at evening? Not one. This I firmly believe, because our temperance work has taught me a most hopeful definition of the genus homo. Plato said man is a biped without feathers; Hugo calls him the only animal who laughs; but I believe a truer definition is this: Man is the most persuadable of all created beings; with his heart full of aches and his eyes full of tears, he can be won by kindness. Knowing, then, the terrors of God's broken law and the tenderness of Christ, we persuade men. We are going out after the ungospelled masses as never before since the Crusade. Theatre meetings are multiplying; depot meetings and open-air gatherings are more frequent; temperance tabernacles are attracting interested attention; visitation of prisons and charitable institutions increases; meetings for sailors are kept up, and the question presses upon us, How shall our women be trained so that they may rightly divide the word of God to these hungry multitudes who come to hear?

The Gospel Training Institute conducted by Mrs. S. M. I. Henry at Lake Bluff opened the eyes of some among us to this new and sorely-needed line of evangelistic work—viz., the training of women, especially our younger workers, to conduct Gospel meetings and to speak for Christ. As Dr. Chas. G. Finney, the revivalist, said in the last years of his life, "The church that silences the women is shorn of half its power." So general has this silencing process been, however, in some localities that, what a young lady said recently to me, thousands have secretly thought: "You must no more expect me to speak than you would expect a Chinese woman, whose feet had been bound all her days, to win the first prize at a walking-match." Now, if ever Lucifer rejoiced, it must have been when good and saintly men, by a narrow interpretation of the letter and a total blindness to the spirit of the Gospel, silenced the womanly voice in the circle of prayer and denied to the faithful Marys of the present day a place among the heralds of Christ's resurrection. Let us, then, give prominence to these Gospel Training Institutes, which shall prove to be the open-sesame to gentle lips which may have felt but did not dare confess the call of God to declare the good tidings of Him who blots out the lines of nationality, of servitude, of sex, and makes the race he has redeemed "*one in Christ Jesus*." Under the head of evangelistic work the cheering fact may also be stated that union temperance prayer-meetings, held monthly by the pastors on the regular prayer-meeting night, are slowly gaining favor; intoxicating wine is being gradually displaced from the Lord's table; earnest efforts are begun to secure in the week of prayer a day of prayer for the temperance cause; and the terrible Sabbath desecration directly resulting from the drink habit and traffic is arousing apathetic church-members to make common cause with our societies.

III. SOCIAL.

The work of young women, which has grown more in this than any previous year, is our most mighty weapon of *social* influence. Entertainments,

musical and literary, receptions in the city and sociables in the country, have afforded opportunity for circulating the autograph pledge-book, and many a bright-faced girl has said at the close of an evening thus spent : " How nice it is to learn that you can have just as good a time and be helping others too ! " The best feature of such work is to deepen in the thought of girlhood the truth that Home, if it is to be the shrine we love to call it, requires not only a pure priestess but a *pure priest* to keep its altars fair and bright. Reading-rooms and temperance clubs for boys have been among the most successful accessories of the young ladies' work.

In general social work the quarterly meetings, held by several adjoining Unions, have been most helpful. In Massachusetts the home-like name of " Neighborhood Meetings " has been given to these, and is worthy of universal adoption. The " Mothers' Meetings " conducted by Jennie Duty in Cleveland, to which from their treadmill-round the women from homes of poverty have been invited, ought to become general in our cities. Committees to visit the poor and urge attendance on our meetings, at the same time distributing articles of apparel solicited by our workers, have found a warm welcome from needy women and half-clad little ones. Receiving New Year's calls at local Headquarters is a growing custom, and " Lucy Hayes Tea-Parties " are already in vogue at the West.

IV. EXTENDING OUR ORGANIZATION.

(1) *General.*

The Woman's Christian Temperance Union is growing steadily in England, Mrs. Lucas, sister of John Bright, being at the head of the work there. Some of these years we shall have an International Convention, with results far-reaching and beneficent. Canada is making progress, and our leaders have settled the reciprocity question by an exchange of much valuable work. The corresponding secretary's report will greatly cheer you by its accounts of Colorado, our newly-organized, and Delaware, our newly-resurrected, State auxiliary.

(2) *The New West.*

Pioneer work has also been done in Arkansas, Missouri, Kansas, Nebraska, Dakota, Wyoming, Utah, and California, by Mrs. Foster of Iowa, Miss Morison of Indiana, Miss Cleveland of Michigan, Mrs. Clardy of St. Louis, myself, and other workers. In the last year I have travelled from Portland to Leadville, and from Minneapolis to Baltimore, meeting with hearty kindness and co-operation from pastors and people in the twenty-three States where I have presented the plans of our societies.

(3) *The South.*

But the Southern States, in which we have hardly yet gained a foothold, demand our next attention. The best antidote to a Solid South is a living issue upon new territory for whose sake we may clasp hands in token of a new alliance against a common enemy. Temperance is that issue, our societies afford that vantage-ground, the drink habit and traffic indicate that common danger. Best of all, as Mother Stewart's report will show, every overture made by our National Union has been warmly responded to by Southern ladies. She aptly calls this branch of work " our new national peace

policy." For one, my enthusiasm for this undertaking assumes the proportions of prophecy, that what statesmen have notably failed to achieve in uniting the two sections, will be slowly wrought out of the prayers and work of Christian womanhood North and South in defence of their tempted loved ones and imperilled homes.

(4) *Foreigners.*

A new method of extending our work is being developed in the West by Mrs. H. Skelton, an educated German lady, and Mrs. Laura Fixen, an educated Dane. These ladies circulate literature in "their own tongue wherein they were born," address large audiences of our German and Scandinavian population in their native languages, organize Unions and Reform Clubs, pledge voters to the right, and prove, what some of us have long contended, that if we would bid half as loudly by honest hard work as time-serving politicians do with "treats" and promises, the tables would ere long be turned, and we could claim as a valuable part of the temperance constituency "our German friends." Let the church make common cause with us in this aggressive work for our foreign population, and we may yet stem the tide of lager-beer which threatens to sweep away our Sabbath. It is marvellous that, with so much said upon this subject, there is so little done. The Germans and Scandinavians are an intelligent and well-intentioned people. Their hearts are by no means set in them to do evil. It is only requisite that our thought and conviction be brought into contact with their own, not on the plane of denunciation, but of "Come, let us reason together."

BEER.

The increased use of beer results not only from the influx of foreign population, but from the mistaken effort of our own people to effect a compromise in their drinking habits, under the pressure of an immensely strengthened temperance sentiment. To this point, then, we must direct the batteries of persuasion and argument, proving to them how grievous their mistake; urging them to consider the waste of raw material in the manufacture of these coarse, unwholesome drinks; tracing their stupefying effects on the brain, and gross animalizing influence alike on the tissues of the body and the temper of the soul.

V. LEGAL WORK.

The year of a Presidential campaign is one in which the attitude of parties hinders reformatory legislation. But the petitions for a constitutional amendment in Michigan, Iowa, and Kansas, the mammoth Home Protection work of the Crusade State, the vigorous efforts of Massachusetts on the same line, and the local work for woman's temperance ballot in Illinois, all indicate the rising of the tide. I take it we are prohibitionists every one, differing not at all in our degrees of loyalty to that grand principle; though, manifestly, we do not yet see eye to eye concerning the methods by which this blessed consummation shall be reached. But I am not yet able to regard this as a misfortune. To disagree with gentleness is a far higher triumph of Christian grace than to be gentle just because we happen to agree; and to accept the will of the majority without dreaming of disunion, helps to educate us for the heavier strain on our steadiness of nerve which the duties of citizenship will ere long involve. Moreover, "the interchange of views on any given subject that is

called out by a pointed and lively discussion is worth a shelf crammed full of pamphlets and reports." I wish we might count among our standing committees one on legal work, which should make a study of the situation and suggest lines of action. For instance, the provisions of the Canada Scott Act, whereby the indicted rumrunner must be a witness, and cannot appeal his case to a higher court, should be carefully studied by us. Again, there are serious flaws in the prohibitory statutes of New Hampshire and Vermont; the Woman's Christian Temperance Unions should petition the legislature for amendments. In many localities in these States the constituted authorities shamefully neglect the sworn duty of enforcement; our societies, instead of helplessly bemoaning this infamous fact, should crystallize the righteous indignation of the temperance people into a public and efficient protest. A commission of enquiry into the results of the liquor traffic should be appointed in every State, and ours are just the societies to set this work in motion. At many State and county fairs, and other public gatherings, strong drink is sold, but we can secure the passage of laws against these outrages. Four-fifths of our State auxiliaries have now declared by resolution their approbation of, or desire for, the temperance ballot, and this should be followed by petitions to the legislatures and to Congress. We can hardly over-estimate the reflex educational influence of circulating petitions. Time thus invested is by no means lost, even if legislatures and municipal councils disregard our plea. The right of petition was not conceded without a struggle, and the arguments used against granting it to women were identical with those now urged against placing the ballot in our hands, while brave John Quincy Adams, whom our grandmothers remember as the champion on the liberal side, has left speeches on record that would serve as Home Protection documents to-day.

VI. PREVENTIVE.

But I pass on to the preventive line of work. Under this head are commonly grouped all counter-attractions to the saloon—as Friendly Inns, Temperance Restaurants, and Reading Rooms, offering the anti-treat and other pledges, methods which have worked so well that we ought to follow them more earnestly. But I shall venture, in this thoughtful presence, to urge a line of preventive work that lies not upon the surface but strikes straight to the core of this whole sorrowful question. We talk of the malign power of those who drink, to perpetuate injurious social customs and vicious legislation, but we must begin to think and speak of the immeasurably more blighting power of such persons to perpetuate *themselves*. The moderate drinker of to-day is far more likely to have a drunkard for his son or daughter than the total abstinence man, and the mother, who during the period of pregnancy and lactation takes alcohol into her system, on a physician's prescription or otherwise, has often brought an unspeakable curse upon the helpless and the innocent. The awful laws of cause and effect involved in the subjects of hygiene, heredity, and pre-natal influences, involving the sacred right of every child to be well born, ought to be made the subjects of reverent investigation by us and the results sent out to our local Unions everywhere. Meetings of women, to be addressed on this subject, should be a feature of our work; physicians should be enlisted and educated to a clearer discernment of their duty. I am proud of the record which women physicians are making in this regard, and confident that our National, and before long every State Union will furnish a field

of marvellous usefulness to motherly women of that guild who will speak and write upon the sacred theme, least understood but most vitally related to the possession of an untainted body and an undiseased soul. Meanwhile, dear sisters, let me urge you to begin your circulating library by ordering, at 58 Reade Street, New York, Dr. Edmunds's "Stimulants for Women," Dr. Richardson's "Diseases of Modern Life" and "Lectures on Alcohol," and Dr. Blackman's "Prescribing Alcoholics." There is a paper published in Washington, D. C., and appropriately called *The Alpha*, which treats these subjects with marked intelligence of purpose and purity of diction.

VII. WORK WHICH WE MAY INAUGURATE AND INSPIRE.

While as temperance women we keep to our own work, there are many other philanthropic efforts which, in various localities, have been projected by our societies. In Dover, N. H., an evening school for employees, originating in the Union, was taken up by the proprietor of a large manufactory, who assumed all the expenses. In Rochester, N. Y., the Young Woman's Temperance Union give temperance lessons to the public-school children on Friday after hours, awaiting the time when the proper authorities shall incorporate the work into the system of public education. In Portland, Me., the employment of a member of our Union to attend the police-court and look after the interests of arrested women resulted in the appointment of a woman policeman (pardon the philanthropic paradox) by the municipal authorities in a distant city, who were moved thereto by their knowledge of the Portland experiment. In Michigan, the State Woman's Christian Union last year induced the Legislature to appropriate thirty thousand dollars for a Girl's Reform School.

It has long seemed to me that our Unions, by their unsectarian character and representative aims, were fitted incidentally to furnish the incitement to noble enterprises closely related to our work, in which women who will not as yet engage in our direct temperance endeavor would gladly employ their steadily-arousing energies. In large cities we might call a meeting and do the preliminary work which would result in organizing the associated charities so beneficently operative in Philadelphia* and Boston, or in the founding of an Industrial and Temporary Home like that of which the pastor of this church is the chief presiding officer;† or in the inauguration of a Citizens' League in the interests of the Sabbath and the protection of children from the liquor-traffic, an enterprise which has had notable success in Chicago.‡ We might go even beyond all this and petition municipal authorities to establish public fountains, free bathing-houses and gymnasiums, all of which, conducing directly to improved sanitary habits in the public, would accomplish much toward diminishing the feverish and unnatural thirst for stimulants. Let us not insist that all shall work with us, but rather be sedulous in the endeavor so to increase the aggregate "enthusiasm of humanity," so to glorify the sentiment of *other-hood* as opposed to the sense of *self-hood*, that all may find the secret of a happy life in working *somewhere*.

HOW SHALL WE DO ALL THIS?

But how shall all this work be carried on? More and more, as it develops,

* For particulars write Charles D. Kellogg, Secretary of the Society for Organizing Associated Charities, Philadelphia, Pa.

† Write Rev. Dr. A. J. Gordon, Boston, Mass.

‡ Andrew Paxton, Y. M. C. A. Building, Chicago.

by increasing the number of paid laborers in the field. Every State and all the chief local Unions must have headquarters with paid secretaries. Consider the experience of the Young Men's Christian Association. Its local auxiliaries had a most uncertain tenure of life and its work grew slowly until it adopted this plan of commanding consecrated talent in the departments of organizing, writing, and speaking, and now what a vast and growing power it has become! Look over our State and local Unions to see where most has been accomplished, and you will invariably find that it is where this same plan was early adopted by our women. This is the age of experts and specialists. We must find out what each woman who makes this cause her life-work can do best, then set her at that and see that she is taken care of—a moderate but stipulated sum being paid from our treasury, on which her collections in public meetings shall apply. Of this I may speak freely, never having received a penny's salary from the National Union, and being determined that I never will, just for the pleasure of tilting a free lance, as I am doing now.

By having more workers, both in State and nation, who devote themselves to special lines, we can dispense with many of our standing committees, but I suggest that if a chairman has done well we observe in her case the rules of civil-service reform—which admit no change except “for cause.” Especially should this be the case in view of the fact that, under our present loose system of scattering members of committees through several States, and giving no opportunity for consultation at the National Meeting, the chairman who has saved any time from committee correspondence for real work must be a person of marvellous executive ability. In the accompanying schedule the committees are more compactly classified than heretofore, and your attention is asked to the suggested changes. Perhaps the national standing committees should consist of one person each, and be similarly duplicated in the different States, down to the local Unions. If this plan is not adopted, we must in all conventions appoint these committees early in the session, so that consultation may be had before they separate. Or, possibly, a still more effective plan is the one indicated in the schedule, by which our most important lines of work are entrusted to superintendents, national, State, and local. Much advantage will result from a more specific definition of the duties of our general officers, that upon each may be fixed the responsibility for her appropriate lines of work.

WHERE SHALL WE FIND THE SPECIAL WORKERS ?

Not by levying a draft upon the home women, to the neglect of those duties which, if performed with reverence and intelligence, will help humanity as no other efforts can.

It is the glory of the woman's temperance movement that no “Mrs. Jellaby” has yet been attracted to our ranks. But while the beloved home-makers and home-keepers give us scraps and fragments of their time, finding in our Unions a nobler form of social interchange than in the ceremonious calls and visits of the olden time—these scraps and fragments can be braided together into coherent form by the steady fingers and deft skill of the once “anxious and aimless,” but now cheery and efficient, class which we name “*our Protestant nuns.*”

Gov. Andrew and his scheme of exploitation were well enough in their day; but thousands once called “spinsters” because society had found nothing for them to do but spin; thousands more, whom death, or that death-in-life called

dissipation, has bereft of their strong staff and beautiful rod; and yet other thousands who, when their nest was left unto them desolate because the birds were fledged and flown, once sat with folded hands through life's long afternoon—are now finding a place where their activities exactly fit into the varied and musical machinery of our beautiful and blessed work. To empty-hearted young women in homes of luxury our Unions come with loving invitations; to the dormant talent in Christ's Church the call is "Arise, ye who are at ease in Zion; hear my voice, ye careless daughters"; to the over-crowded ranks of teacherdom (and here I can speak out of long experience) the invitation is, Come with us; we need each other. Hard as our work is, a teacher's occupation is harder still. Though I could point you to a score of women in our work who speak on an average once a day all the year round, who organize, write, and travel without respite, and nearly all of whom were teachers once, their concurrent testimony would be that they are stronger, healthier, and in better spirits than ever in their lives before. The breezy life, the tonic of change, the inspiration of variety have much to do with this. Moreover, if one is in earnest, and has something to say, the average audience need have no terrors for a woman who can instruct and hold the interest of a high-school class. Indeed, the former requires more stress of nerve, for your class instinctively matches its united intellectual vigor against its teacher and is full of questionings; while an audience is in receptive rather than combative mood, is also to the last degree good-natured and cannot answer back! Let the voice of invitation go forth, then, to the teachers and the young women in our colleges, certifying to them that in delightful service for Christ a new vocation is open to the persuaders of the race. Nor do I hesitate to predict the day as not far distant when we shall have scores of educated women, where we now have one, engaged in the sure and steady occupation of educating and refining public sentiment, with voice and pen, against the use of poisonous beverages. Fields are waiting for them in half a dozen States to-day, as I know by urgent applications from leading officers. They will be welcome and beloved, the sisters of all homes, societies, and people, for their work's sake. Custom's pinched lips have ceased to mutter their tyrannical "Thus far, no farther," which in less Christian centuries checked the buoyant steps of woman, and God's loving "Thus far, no farther," written in our nature, asserts its kindly sway.

FINANCES—BASIS OF REPRESENTATION.

But what is the essential pre-requisite to these enlarged plans for our work? I do not hesitate to answer that it is the silver and gold which belongs to God, but has not yet found its way into the temperance treasury. The ring of the consecrated dollar is as genuine a sign of consecrated character as this world can show, and a basis of representation which requires the payment of a moderate membership fee, say a penny a week, from each woman who unites with us, will gird our feeble treasury with the sinews of war. At first many of us did not perceive this need, and, though a membership fee was usually incorporated into our constitutions, it was practically a dead letter. But among the best lessons of our experience has been that which leads us to desire the enforcement of, this rule, not only in the basis of national, but of State and local representation. Surely a penny per week from each member is a little thing to ask from those whose hearts God has touched with the

spirit of temperance work, but that amount *paid in* would enable us to reverse the magic of classic story, which says the touch of King Midas turned everything into gold, for our Christian alchemy would transmute gold into everything—into the temperance reading-room, the literature, the organizer's clear brain, the speaker's voice, the writer's pen. Let us not be so illogical as to imagine an antagonism where none exists—by which we set *paying* and *praying*, always in God's economy two parts of one tremendous whole, over against each other. What would the church be if we did not both pray *and* pay? What would the Missionary Society accomplish without its well-lined treasury? And what can this home missionary work of temperance hope to achieve, if we call that unclean which God hath cleansed? This fallacy is akin to that which objects to paying salaries or accepting money for any kind of temperance work. It seems to creep in at the beginning of every form of Christian enterprise, the ministers of new sects being usually unsalaried, but it is always detected in the clearer light of experience. We do the public a positive harm when we deprive them of the pleasure of giving of their substance to those philanthropic workers who, though necessarily dismissing the expectation of material wealth, nevertheless perform such labors as are worthy not only the priceless hire of souls and of public good will, but of a comfortable maintenance as well. "He that provideth not for his own household is worse than an infidel," and there is hardly a worker in our ranks who would not speedily perceive the bottom of the coal-bin and the flour-barrel were those for whom she labors unmindful of her needs. These things being true, let us look the financial question squarely in the face, and I suggest that to the membership fees be added, in all local Unions, the system of monthly subscriptions by card,* the circulation of individual subscription-books by leading members, and the effort to secure the Thanksgiving Day collection for the home work. The little "Red books" sent out from our National Headquarters this year have materially added to our resources, and I am confident that, if you decide to put a Financial Agent in the field, next year will witness a surprising augmentation of our income.

But the basis of representation by which each delegate represents a fixed number of paying members is not only financially helpful, it is *just*, since by means of it each delegate represents a *certain number of temperance women*, rather than (as heretofore) a certain area of population, large numbers of whom sell, drink, and vote for the sale of intoxicating liquors. Still farther, the new basis gives the additional influence which is their due to localities where the largest numbers have been enlisted, and thus becomes an honorable incentive to energetic efforts in the work of organization.

TESTIMONIAL TO MRS. HAYES.

A movement has originated in Delaware, Ohio, to secure funds for a portrait of Mrs. President Hayes, to be placed at the White House as a testimonial from the temperance people of the country. Her heroic example in banishing wine from the Presidential mansion merits this recognition, and by means of it a new impetus will be given to the total abstinence cause. The officers of the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union were invited to take the initiative in this matter, and a Commission has been organized, the

* Write Mrs. G. H. Reed, Bloomington, Ill., for particulars.

announcement of which has been printed and placed in your hands. All of our State auxiliaries, so far as I know, have endorsed the movement, and the work of collecting funds is now going on with promise of results altogether creditable to our Unions.

SUMMER MEETINGS.

We have held four of these, in the following localities: Ocean Grove, N. J., Round Lake, N. Y., Lake Bluff, Ill., and Bismarek Grove, Kansas. On the 15th of August we celebrated the sixth anniversary of the preliminary work of organizing our National Union at Chautauqua, where that work was done. Joseph Cook preached the anniversary sermon, taking as his theme "The Church and Home Protection," and advocating the temperance ballot. As the national officers find the care of these meetings a somewhat heavy vacation task, I suggest that hereafter the State Unions be responsible for planning them, and enlist the services of such national workers as they think best; also that gentlemen as well as ladies be invited to speak on these occasions.

CONVENTIONS.

If some of our national officers could arrange to be present at each State and the leading District Conventions, it would, I am confident, greatly tend toward unity in our methods and spirit, and I hope you may include this among their specified duties.

As every moment of an assembly like this is of incalculable value, let me suggest the advantage to State and national Unions of putting as much work as possible into the hands of the committees; printing all the leading reports beforehand, so that delegates may have them for convenient reference, and sending out a blank for credentials similar to the one we have used this year, which, being filled out and forwarded to the recording secretary some days before the convention, furnishes data from which the executive committee, at its preliminary session, prepares a roll-call of the delegates.

REFLEX INFLUENCE OF THIS WORK UPON THE WORKERS.

Having surveyed the field to learn what women are doing for the temperance cause, let us, in conclusion, gratefully consider what the temperance cause is doing for women. It is leading us outside the hedges of a narrow sectarianism. Going into the streets to pray meant going beyond denominational walls, and clasping hands with all who love our Lord Jesus Christ in such sincerity as leads them to "rescue the perishing." This temperance work is also revealing to us the absurdity of always standing below the cataract to grasp, often vainly, for those who have made the fearful plunge, instead of stationing guards above it to keep the ignorant and unwary from falling in. It has taught us also that, as God has given us eyes which can look up and around but not within ourselves, the most healthful Christian life is one that gazes lovingly into the face of Christ and helpfully around upon humanity, instead of tiring itself out with morbid introspection. Slowly we are discovering, with happiness that mocketh speech, that this fight against home's bitterest enemy is God's highway of the exodus for half the race. Wonderful indeed are the orderings of Heaven by which to-day in thousands of communities our Unions are the nucleus of such study as women of the church and home never before gave to the structure of the human body and God's Health Decalogue written

therein. Think what it means for her who is priestess of the cradle to follow lines of work and study which keep steadily before her thought the fact that the body is sacred, and that the rules of its well-being are religious, inasmuch as they are the ritual of the temple of the Holy Ghost written in natural law.

The mediæval monastery taught men to despise the body; the modern home will teach them to reverence and ennoble it by sedulously-cultivated habits of pure living. Steadily cherishing this thought, our temperance women will go beyond the study of the pitiful effects of the alcohol and nicotine habits upon their sons, to the closely-related topics of diet, dress, cleanliness, ventilation, and exercise, as helps or hindrances not to their sons only, but to the best development of themselves. Indeed, I have heard more than one of them say already that she never drank a cup of water, partook of food, or provided for the ventilation of her sleeping-room as a *religious* act until this temperance work had wrought into her thinking and her conscience this reverent appreciation of God's other revelation written in our members. Dress-makers and shoe-merchants are receiving instructions for more generous measurements and sizes than formerly from temperance women, and a simpler style of diet and adorning is among the reflex influences upon the home, for which we thank God and take courage. As the work goes on, and our study of these solemn and beautiful truths of God grows deeper, the dense ignorance and heart-breaking indifference of both men and women to the laws that govern that incomparable sacrament, the genesis of an immortal spirit, will be slowly overcome. Our Dr. Richardson, whose "Temperance Text-Book" we are studying, says this whole subject of inherited tendencies waits and will go on waiting till women take it up. But they will do so as one reflex of our work; and when its sacred laws are understood, taught, and obeyed, we shall see the banished pair returning to the Eden early lost, and our sorrowful race, so long defiled, shall come back to its Father and its God. Oh! if those close-clasped hands had never parted company our poor old world had been a happier place to-day. It is not good for man to be alone. In college, camp, and court his deterioration is the patent obstacle against which even our Christian civilization contends in vain. Until we get the stereoscopic view from the different angles of vision which man's eye and woman's furnish, Government will remain the Chinese picture that it is, without the vividness and perspective of truth. We are learning that our work is not along the line of the woman question merely, but the deeper, higher, and far more sacred *human question*. The laws of heredity and six thousand years of education have developed in woman the instinct of speech and the faculty of government. She has always been chief legislator in the little principality of home, and no queen ever had subjects more loving or more loyal. The scientific method and the teachings of the Gospel (invariably harmonious when both are reverently studied) have always favored the exercise of these two predominant gifts of what will always be "the gentler sex." Literature was the first field opened to us, then co-education, then occupation, then—in the widest sense—philanthropy. Prejudice predicted failure in each, but was mistaken. Conservatism prophesied the loss of womanly character and deportment as the too costly price of preferment in all, but its fears have not been realized.

Ere long the Christian womanhood of our country will come to Church and State, earnestly asking that, for the highest good of each, woman's full power of speech and legislation shall be exercised in both. The masses who

drink and sell intoxicants are not reached by the usual means of grace; but two-thirds Christ's church are women, whose persuasive voices will be a reinforcement quite indispensable to the evangelizing agencies of the more hopeful future. A horde of ignorant voters, committed to the rum power, fastens the dramshop like a leech on our communities; but let the Republic take notice that our Unions are training an army to offset this horde, one which will be the only army of voters specifically educated to their duty which has ever yet come up to the help of the Lord against the mighty. For slowly but surely the reflex influence of this mighty reform, born in the church and nurtured at the Crusade altars, is educating women to the level of two most solemn and ominous ideas: 1st. *That they ought to vote.* 2d. *That they ought to vote against grog-shops.* The present generation will not pass away until in many of the States this shall all be fulfilled, and then, America, beloved Mother of thrice grateful daughters, thou shalt find rallying to thy defence and routing the grimy hosts that reel about thee now, an army of voters which absenteeism will not decimate and money cannot buy. Under the influence of our societies may be safely tried the great experiment that agitates the age, and which upon the world's arena most of us have feared.

When we desire this "home protection" weapon, American manhood will place it in our hands. Though we have not taken sides as yet in politics, we cannot be insensible to the consideration shown us in the platform of the Prohibition party—a prophecy of that chivalry of justice which shall yet afford us a still wider recognition. These benign changes will not come suddenly, but as the result of a profound change in the convictions of the thoughtful and conscientious, followed by such a remoulding of public sentiment as this class always brings about when once aroused. First of all the best and truest men must be convinced that *womanliness* can never be legislated out of being, but that, as it has survived the days when women wove and spun, picked their own geese and did their own dyeing; as it has borne bravely up amid the crash of old theories concerning how much a woman might know and how little she might do, womanliness is likely to prove the grandest recorded instance of survival of the fittest based upon natural law.

Beloved friends, among the reflex influences by which this temperance work has broadened my own outlook and enriched my hopes, may I speak of the sweet and tender lesson of your homes to me? I have learned how such solemn vicissitudes as come into the lives of women only, help to confirm your faith in the world invisible. The breath of eternity falls on your foreheads like baptismal dew in those hours of unutterable pain and danger when a little child is born into your home. Your steps lie along the borderland of this closely-curtained world,

"And palpitates the veil between
With breathings almost heard."

Into your eyes fall the first mystic glances of innocent and trusting souls. Tender little hands folded in prayer, and winsome voices saying

"Gentle Jesus, meek and mild,
Look upon a little child,"

have done more than all traditional restraints to keep your hearts loving and unworldly. Always this will be so; always from manhood's more exterior

view of life's significance you are separated by the deepest and most sacred experiences which human hearts may know. That anchor holds. But God has given the mother-heart for purposes of wider blessing to humanity than it has dreamed as yet. Let us go gently forward until that loving, faithful heart shall be enthroned in the places of power; until the queens of home are queens indeed.

And, best of all, the hand of Him whose Gospel has lifted us up into these heavenly places in Christ Jesus; of Him who was a brother to the Marys, and who, in His hour of mortal agony, did not forget His mother—that pierced hand points the way.

SCHEDULE SHOWING VARIOUS METHODS OF W. C. T. U. WORK.

I. EDUCATIONAL.	II. EVANGELISTIC.	III. SOCIAL.	IV. LEGAL.	V. EXTENDING OUR ORGANIZATION.	VI. PREVENTIVE.	VII. INSTIGATED & INSPIRED BY OUR UNIONS.
1. FOR TEACHERS AND STUDENTS. Scientific Temperance text-books in normal schools, seminaries, public and private; colleges and professional schools. 2. JUVENILE WORK. (a) In Sabbath-schools. (b) In public schools. (c) In juvenile temperance schools, and Cold-Water Armies. 3. TEMPERANCE LITERATURE. (a) The circulation of <i>Our Union</i>, official organ of National W. C. T. U., published at 53 Bible House, New York). To be enlarged, enriched in its departments, increased in price, and its editor and publisher elected by the Convention. (b) The study of temperance literature by topics in our local Unions. (c) Its circulation in the homes, (d) Its circulation in public audiences, adapting the selections to the speaker's theme. (e) A temperance column regularly maintained in local press. (f) Communications sent to church, Sunday-school, educational, and medical press. (g) Literature boxes kept supplied with leaflets and hand-bills in depots, markets, engine-houses, stores, offices, public buildings, barber-shops, etc. Illustrated juvenile leaflets a specialty. (h) Invitations to meetings, arguments for total abstinence, appeals to voters, etc., sent out through post-office, and in dry-goods bundles. (i) A loan library of best temperance books and pamphlets to be personally circulated among the reading class.	1. Preparing temperance Bible readings for regular meetings of the local auxiliary. 2. Holding Gospel Temperance Institutes for the training of women in methods of conducting evangelistic services. These to be held at County, District and State Conventions whenever practicable. 3. Securing a <i>Union</i> temperance prayer-meeting of the churches once a quarter on regular prayer-meeting night. 4. Inviting pastors to preach upon temperance. 5. Theatre-meetings on Sabbath afternoon. 6. Depot and outdoor meetings.	1. Parlor-meetings to enlist interest of the influential but indifferent, with autograph pledge-book. 2. Temperance receptions, and Lucy Hayes tea parties, work on enforcement of law; on commissions, national, State, and local, to enforce liquor-traffic; on enforcing laws against Sabbath desecration; on using the educational vote in States that have granted this to women, and using it to secure temperance teaching in the schools; laws against the sale of intoxicants at County fairs and State fairs and other public gatherings; on petitions to State and national legislatures for constitutional amendments; prohibitory local-option, or home-protection statutes.	1. To study existing laws and suggest measures for strengthening them. 2. To suggest suitable times and subjects for petitioning. 3. In States establish headquarters for corresponding secretaries, and send out State organizer and financial agent. 4. In National W. C. T. U. maintain the Eastern and Western headquarters, with corresponding secretaries at one and National financial agent at the other. 5. In the South provide fund for distribution of <i>Our Union</i> and other temperance literature, and send out workers.	1. Medical meetings for women only, the plan of the German town, by women physicians. 2. The study of books and leaflets on Hereditary and Prenatal Influences, including Diet, Exercise, Venereal diseases, and Reform; the art of <i>home-making</i> as distinct from house-keeping. 3. A department of Hygiene in <i>Our Union</i>.	1. A system of Associated Charities, on the plan of the German town, by women experts. 2. Industrial and reform schools for women and girls (appeal to State Legislatures). 3. Homes for inebriate women (State Legislatures). 4. Evening schools for employees. 5. Establishing public fountains, free bathing-houses, gymnasiums for women (appeal to municipal authorities by petition for all these). 6. Introducing scientific instruction in public schools. 7. Introducing temperance books and papers into S. S. and public libraries.	

8. Women policemen (appointed and paid by municipal authorities).

5. To enlist foreign population, provide literature and speakers in their own language.

tutes; petitions to municipal authorities for the home-protection ballot in States where the laws render this practicable.

8. Booths at State and County fairs, with ice-water, lemonade, literature, mottoes, etc.; or lunch served in the work.

9. Temperance Tarnacles for the people, on the Atlanta, Ill., plan. Write Mr. Frank Hoblit for circular.

10. Inducing church authorities to banish intoxicating wine from the Lord's table.

4. PLEDGE-SIGNING.

(a) The home pledge. (b) The circulation of the pledge from seat to seat in public audiences. (c) Offering the pledge in Gospel meetings. (d) Securing signatures in every department of juvenile work.

5. INTRODUCING OUR WORK TO INFLUENTIAL BODIES, as ecclesiastical, Sunday-School, educational, and medical conventions.

6. ENLISTING CORPORATIONS AND EMPLOYERS TO REQUIRE TOTAL ABSTINENCE IN THEIR EMPLOYEES.

TO CARRY ON THIS WORK :

ance Literature and College work.	Superintendent of Gospel Temperance Institutes for National W. C. T. U.	Superintendent of young ladies' work for National W. C. T. U.	Superintendent of legal work for National W. C. T. U.	Superintendent of Southern work. Standing committee of Southern ladies on this work.	A Committee on list of books to be studied and leaflets to be prepared. A Superintendent of medical meetings.	A standing Committee on appeal to legislatures and municipalities to do what we have not money to undertake. State Committee to Personal influence and effort.
tion and State act as each local	Superintendent of evangelistic work for each State, and evangelistic committee in each local Union.	Superintendent of National and State Com. on Unfermented Wine.	Superintendent of Bible Readings.	Superintendent of work among the colored people.	Superintendent of work among the Indians.	Superintendent of work among the Chinese.
as,	Com. on Bible Readings.	Com. on Prison Work, etc.				



